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Can Roumanian Rule in East-Hungary Last?

By

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Among the claims upon Hungarian territory aiming at dismembering the country, the Roumanian aspirations are the most dangerous and covetous. They demand no less than 26 of Hungary's 63 counties under the pretext that these counties are inhabited by Roumanians.

But these Roumanian claims are entirely unjustified on historical and ethnographical grounds, and were this territory to come under Roumanian rule yet, it could not be of duration since the Roumanians would not dispose of the numerical majority, and neither the Hungarian Roumanians nor those of Great Roumania possess the superior culture required for the maintenance of their rule.

Roumanian historians, at least that part of them blinded by vainglorious national ambitions, have spread the theory that the Roumanians are the direct descendants from Dacia's Roman settlers and thus had occupied their present territories much earlier than the Hungarians who are nothing but usurpators of Roman soil. But objective and unbiased history has long ago already cleared the facts of Roumanian descent and colonisation. The so called "continuity theory" can not stand its own in the light of unprejudiced historical research. This also tells us that, excepted the Turkish dominion of one and a half centuries, which was extended over the Great Plain and a part of Transdanubia only, the present Hungarian

territory has uninterruptedly been under Hungarian rule since the occupation of the country. Even two of the provinces (vajdaság) of the present Roumanian Kingdom — Moldava and Vallachia — have for centuries been tributary and paying taxes to the King of Hungary, wherefore the latter province was called: Ungrovallachia.

From the contemporary data it is also obvious that the Roumanians, after their first appearance in Hungary, continued to immigrate in always increasing numbers and that, while the Hungarians exhausted themselves in endless wars for the sake of Western civilisation, the Roumanian shepherds were fast increasing in the peace of the highlands and sent numerous gangs down to the valleys but sparsely populated by Hungarians and Saxons. Particularly during the eighteenth century the Roumanians tried to escape the Fanariota rule, in great bulks entering Transylvania and Hungary where freedom waited for them. In consequence of this numerous emigrants the numbers of Roumanians in Transylvania increased to such an extent that, while in 1700 still the Roumanian priests had numbered their kindred at 200,000, in 1811 they were estimated at 900,000 already, in spite of incessant Roumanian migration from Transylvania into the other parts of Hungary.

At the conclusion of the Fanariota epoch (1820) and later on when Roumania became an independent principality and kingdom, the re-migration from Transylvania to Roumania was started, owing to which the growth of the Roumanian population was so slight during the 19th century.

In the 26 counties — included the towns with municipal authorities — which are claimed by the Roumanians the population numbers were the following in 1910:

	in numbers	in %
Hungarians . . .	2.429,446	35·5
Germans	742,655	10·8
Roumanians . .	2.939,201	43·0
Ruthenians . . .	199,232	2·9
Servians	291,093	4·3
Others	239,752	3·5
Total:	6.841,379	100·0

Thus the Roumanians are claiming such territories where they are in the minority as against the other nationalities, since 43% Roumanians are facing 57% non-Roumanians. Only in 11 of the 26 counties they are in absolute, and in two in relative majority; in none of the 7 towns with municipal authorities located in these territories they dispose of the slightest majority.

Their historical right is a fraud, their numerical majority does not exist, thus they could base their rule but on their cultural and economical superiority.

The proportion of illiterates is best illustrating a people's standard of civilisation. In the 26 counties claimed by the Roumanians the proportion is the following: able to read and write above 6 years of age are 54% of the population, among the principal nationalities 74·7% of Hungarians, 78·9% of Germans, but only 33·6% i. e. a third of the Roumanian population. These figures prove that the Roumanians constitute only 26·3% of the population able to read and write in the territory over which they wish to extend their rule, i. e. they form but the fourth part of the people having reached this low degree of civilisation.

That the fault does not lie with the education policy of Hungary is proved by the fact that the standard of civilisation is by no means a higher one in Great Roumania, in many regards the conditions of civilised life are still worse there.

According to the Roumanian census 37·3% of the native population above 8 years of age are able to read and write, while the census of the Hungarian Roumanians shows a percentage of about 36 for the same time. Thus the proportion of the population able to read and write is nearly the same among the Roumanians of Hungary and those of Great Roumania (considering people above 8 years of age and the year 1912).

To illustrate the conditions of public instruction in the two countries it must be mentioned that only 45·3% of children under compulsion of school attendance went to school in Roumania, while 52% of the Roumanian children in Hungary. And only 59% of Roumanian soldiers were able to write and read in 1911, whilst 70% of the Roumanian soldiers in Hungary in 1917.

In all the towns situated in the 26 counties claimed by the Roumanians, the Roumanian population accounts for 15% (127,848 souls) merely, the Hungarian for 60·7% (518,838 souls). The leading centres, the intellectuals, the trading and manufacturing classes in these towns are made up from Hungarians and Saxons only.

The Roumanians maintain that the Hungarians have artifically magyarised the towns on Roumanian territory and that the Roumanian element was predominant there in earlier times. This statement is in direct contradiction with truth since there never existed any Roumanian towns in Hungary, and the Roumanians are newcomers in all the towns. This is also proved by the records compiled by Innocentius Klein, the Orthodox Catholic Bishop of Balázsfalva, in 1733, from which it appears that 180 years ago the number of Roumanians was entirely insignificant in the Hungarian and Saxon towns of Transylvania, and since that time have encreased to a great extent.

In spite of the rapid growth in more recent times the Roumanian population is still slight in proportion, owing to the Roumanians' mode of life and occupations. They had entered the country as peaceful shepherds, for centuries carried on this profession, and only slowly turned to agriculture as they gradually descended to the destroyed valleys. The economic and social conditions of the Roumanians are most onesided in consequence of this slow evolution; they are peasants for the greatest part, and the intellectual, trading and manufacturing classes are quite insignificant.

While only 56·6% of the Hungarians and 50·1% of other nationalities are occupied in primitive production, 86·1% of the Roumanians belong to this group of professionals; but they constitute but a small proportional number of the trading classes. 28·1% of the Hungarians and 35·5% of the nationalities are occupied in mining, manufacturing or commerce and transport-service, but the Roumanians amount to 7·7% only in these professions. The situation is similar among the intellectuals to whom belong but 1½% of the Roumanians while the Hungarians contribute 5·4% to this group.

The social structure of the Roumanians is at an entirely primitive and undeveloped stage, only the outlines of the classes that are the bearers of mental and material culture are visible yet. There is an inmaterial intellectual class, and for the greatest part it consists of village teachers and clergymen.

From the above it is apparent that the Roumanians, with the exception of primitive production where they represent 52·2%, form but an inmaterial part of the classes devoted to important professions; thus they account for 17·8% in industries, 9·4% in commerce, 15·9% in transport-

service and 20·2% only among the intellectuals. Besides, their percentage of the intellectuals employed in economic life is still lower than that of the intellectuals in the proper sense of the word.

The population of Roumania is to a very little extent occupied in the different trades. While in Hungary there are 9·7 tradesmen among each hundred souls (clerks not included) the corresponding number in the 26 counties is 7·2, and Great Roumania shows the striking figure: 2·8%. But if we consider the trade of the Roumanians only in Hungary and in Roumania, it becomes evident that from the Hungarian Roumanians 3·3% are occupied in industrial trading — not including clerks and officials — and but 2·3% from the natives of Great Roumania. Thus the indictment that the Magyars try to encumber Roumanian industries in every way can not stand its ground since also in this respect the Hungarian Roumanians are ahead of those in Great Roumania.

Manufacturing industries in Great Roumania are just as little advanced. On the territory of the 26 eastern counties of Hungary, which is about equal to that of Roumania, the number of great enterprises is 806 as against 472 in Roumania. In the great industrial plants of the former territory and in its mines 104,193 workmen are employed, and only 56,358 in the same plants of Roumania. If we consider the workmen of Roumanian nationality separately, their numbers amount to 31,289 in the former territory (32,779 in the whole of Hungary), and to 45,100 in Roumania — about 80% of the workmen are considered Roumanians. Thus 1·11 industrial Roumanian workers are reckoned upon each 100 souls in Hungary, and but 0·72 in Roumania.

Thus we see that not only the Hungarian, but to a much larger extent the Great Roumanians

are far behind the Hungarians and Germans in trade and industries. Yet the strength of nations depends upon their trade which forwards their wealth, their material and mental culture.

Since the greatest part of the Roumanians is occupied with primary production, to such a degree that they possess the absolute majority in this production in the 26 counties (52·2%), it is to be supposed that they have actually taken possession of the ground they claim. Yet practically there are but 35·1% of the territory in question in the hands of the Roumanians, 47·6% in the hands of the Hungarians, and 10·1% in those of the Germans. In Transylvania itself only 44·3% of the territory is in possession of the Roumanians, 45·9% is the property of Hungarians, and 9·8% of the Germans.

From this it is obvious how dangerous an experiment it were to establish a new Great Roumania by force. The Roumanians would be in small majority only, i. e. 10.651,000 Roumanians against 6.671,000 heads of non-Roumanian population. The most numerous population, after the Roumanian, were the Hungarian with about 2.600,000 souls which would exceed the one million of Germans and the 1.200,000 Ucrainians and Russians.

Great Roumania to be established on the "Nationality Principle" would be the typical nationalities' state with nearly the same distribution of nationalities for which the victorious Powers want to dismember Hungary. If Hungary, as nationalities' state, could exist for a thousand years, for her peoples were welded by the perfect geografical and economic unity, by the interdependence of the central part and the peripheries of the country and the common patriotism developed in consequence of it, by the common struggles and

sufferings of centuries, and finally by the mental and material superiority of the Hungarians — what necessity is there for creating from the ruins of Hungary a nationalities' state of the same kind, the people of which are separated by mountain ranges of more than 3500 metres hight and by uninhabited regions of 50 kms. extension in some places, and who have no economic interests in common, but whose interests, traditions and sentiments would compel their hostile attitude against the Roumanians, and who — with the exception of the Ucrainians perhaps — are on a much higher level of culture than the Roumanians who wish to subject them.

The Hungarians would account for 15% of the population of Great Roumania, for about as much as the Roumanians do in present Hungary, and the proportion of the Roumanians in their new country would not be any larger than that of the Magyars in Hungary. Thus the proportion of these two nations were inverted, but merely the material numerical proportion. The Roumanians in Hungary are of lower civilisation and social evolution and in consequence of minor importance as member of state than their material numbers imply. But the Hungarians of Great Roumania would — owing to their higher culture, greater numbers of intellectuals and town-inhabiting trading and manufacturing classes — account for at least double the amount of their material numbers in the nation's political and economic life, and would in consequence of their historical past and their wounded self-consciousness inevitably become adversaries to the idea of the Roumanian state.

In case all the territories she covets were to be allocated to Roumania, she would in the first place have to care for adequate administration. If the Roumanians want to employ in these terri-

tories so many compatriots of theirs at least as answer their proportion of population (43), they must have 5,861 men of adequate training in administration, and 3,586 at the bar; thus, according to statistics, a want of 4,473 and 2,342 respectively were to be supplied. But if they should desire to employ their compatriots only in administration and at the bar, they would be in need of 15—19,000 men of the necessary intelligence and training. From Hungary these are not to be taken, for if there were any such Roumanians, they would surely be occupied in administration and economic professions there, but, as we see, there are no Roumanians to be thus employed. Great Roumania will be obliged to import the intellectuals she requires.

Also the proportion of pupils attending secondary schools is much smaller in Great Roumania than in the territories claimed from Hungary. To this we must still add that in Hungary the number of such pupils is continually increasing, in Roumania it is declining.

From all of this it obvious that Roumania can manage the administration in the territories to be severed from Hungary only in case the present officials are left in their places. But how will it be possible for Roumania to administrate with Hungarian officials, imbued with the love for the Hungarian language and state in which they grew up? It is true, the greatest part of the Hungarians living among the Roumanians speak the language of the latter too, but how could they be desired to serve the suppression of the Magyars and the assurance of Roumanian rule against their conviction and sentiments?

What the nationalities becoming subject to Roumanian rule have to except is indicated by the fate of Roumanian, particulary Moldavian Hun-

garians, and the invasion of defenceless Transylvania where the realisation of the Roumanian Imperium in administration followed on the spot.

Roumania that had raised the hue and cry abroad of the Hungarian suppression of her kindred, while, as we have seen, the Hungarian Roumanians were free to culture their language, and their civilisation is of a higher level than that of the Great Roumanians, Roumania has in the most violent manner suppressed the 100,000 Moldavian Catholic Hungarians, has deprived them of the use of their language, not only in schools but in ecclesiastic affairs as well. There is not a single Hungarian school existing in the Moldavian district peopled by Hungarians. Their teachers are Orthodox Catholic Roumanians who make use but of the Roumanian language in teaching Hungarian children, and these are taught the Christian faith from Roumanian books edited by the Roumanian state. In the training colleges for teachers only Orthodox Catholic Roumanians are admitted. Compared with this there were 6 Roumanian training colleges in Hungary in 1900/1901 and the number of Roumanian scholars (male and female) amounted to 706.

To divert the attention from the Moldavian Hungarians, the Roumanians maintain that there are at Bucarest and other more populous towns of Roumania several Hungarian schools, which de facto exist. Yet they are established on the part of Hungarian subjects to be attended by their children only, a right granted to foreigners in every country.

It is sure, an imperium may but created from to-day to to-morrow by shere force — but assured it can be by means of the power derived from the intellect only, by means of the higher level of material and mental culture. Perhaps also the intellectuals may be procured by shere force, but

brutal force can never establish the peace and the satisfaction we expect from a Wilsonian Peace.

There are still two things to be mentioned to which the Roumanian Imperium must needs pay attention and which will not serve to assure their rule. The one is that, from the point of view of national growth, the Hungarian element is the foremost in the east of Hungary, the second, that Roumanian rule in Transylvania and the territories still to be joined will by faced by a well organised Socialism, mainly Hungarian. There are 62,000 Roumanian industrial workmen as against 241,000 non-Roumanians.

All these authentic data in their truthful illustration protest against the obvious injustice of severing the ancient Hungarian territories for Roumania's sake. It were a dangerous attempt and would forever imperil the peace of Europe. On the other hand, Hungary, who has never put any obstacle in the way of the Roumanians' peaceful cultural and economic evolution, who has better forwarded it than Roumania herself, offers them a peaceful home and the possibilities for their future evolution, and is willing to safeguard their national life in all territories where they are in the majority, as the Hungarian Government has repeatedly declared with the most honest intentions and the readiness to realise them.

Hornyánszky V., Budapest.

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